1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

000 ulterior plans of conquest of the Maharaja, our feudatory. 114 Whilst the name of Wazir is now comm[illegible]r a "minister," we find the names of the subordinate offices of Trangpá, Yarfá, Zeytú, Gopá, etc., etc., which point to the reminiscences of Tibetan Government and a reference to the "Official Designations" in Part II. of my "Dardistan" will direct speculation on other matters connected with the subject.

651 567 I need scarcely add that under a Government, like that of Chitrál, which used to derive a large portion of its revenue from kidnapping, the position of the official slave-dealer (Diwánbigi)* was a high one. Shortly before I visited Gilgit, a man used to sell for a good hunting dog (of which animal the Dards are very fond), two men for a pony and three men for a large piece of pattú (a kind of woollen stuff). Women and weak men received the preference, it being difficult for them to escape once they have reached their destination. Practically, all the hillmen are republicans. The name for servant is identical with that of "companion;" it is only the prisoner of another tribe 000 who is a "slave." The progress of Kashmir will certainly have the effect of stopping, at any rate nominally, the trade in *male* slaves, but it will reduce all subjects to the same dead level of slavery and extinguish that spirit of freedom, and with it many of the traditions, that have preserved the Dard races from the degeneracy which has been the fate of the Aryans who reached Kashmir and India. The indigenous Government is one whose occasional tyranny is often relieved by rebellion. I think the Dard Legends and Songs show that the Dards are a superior people to the Dogras, who wish to take their country in defiance of treaty obligations,† and I, for one, would almost prefer the continuance of present anarchy which may end in a national solution or in a *direct alliance* with the British, to the *épicier* policy of Kashmir which, without shedding blood,‡ has drained the

---

* This designation is really that of the Minister of Finance.

† This was written in 1866.

‡ I refer only to the present rule of Kashmir itself and not to the massacres by Kashmir troops in Dardistan, of which details are given elsewhere.

1c Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

NOTE.—The Kirghiz are described by the Chilásis as having flat faces and small noses and are supposed to be very white and beautiful, to be Nomads and to feed on milk, butter and mutton. 155

The Chilásis call the people between Hunza and the Pamir [our Pamir] on the Yarkand road = Gojál.

There are also other Gojáls under a Raja of Gojál on the Badakhshán road.

The Chilásis call the Siah Pôsh Káfirs = Bashgali (Bashgal is the name of the country inhabited by this people who enjoy the very worst reputation for cruelty). They are supposed to kill every traveller that comes within their reach and to cut his nose or ear off as a trophy.*

The Chilásis were originally four tribes; viz.: 619

The Bagoté of Butoo.
The Kané of Takk.
The Boté of the Chilâs fort.
The Matshuké of the Matshuki fort.

The Boté and the Matshuké fought. The latter were defeated, and are said to have fled into Astor and Little Tibet territory.

A Foreigner is called "óshò."

Fellow-countrymen are called "malîki."

The stature of the Dards is generally slender and wiry and well suited to the life of a mountaineer. They are now gradually adopting Indian clothes, and whilst this will displace their own rather picturesque dress and strong, though rough, indigenous manufacture, it may also render them less manly. They are fairer than the people of the plains (the women of Yasin being particularly beautiful and almost reminding one of European women), but on the frontier they are rather mixed—the Chilásis with the 192 [177 291] 193 194

---

* The two Kafirs in my service in 1866, one of whom was a Bashgali, seemed inoffensive young men. They admitted drinking a portion of the blood of a killed enemy or eating a bit of his heart, but I fancy this practice proceeds more from bravado than appetite. In "Davies' Trade Report" I find the following Note to Appendix XXX., page CCCXXXIII. "The ruler of Chitral is in the habit of enslaving all persons from the tribes of Kalash, Dangini and Bashghali, idolaters living in the Chitral territory." [613]

173

Nasr-ud-din, Shin of Sazin; Mazam Khan, Shin of Sazin; Lalo Khan, Yashkhun of Darel; Jabbar, Yashkhun of Darel; Isam, Shin of Phuguch (Darel); Rahim, Shin of Samagial in Darel; Manshur Khan (a great Sirdar) Shin, Samagial; Lamo, Shin of Barois; Miran Khan, Shin, Barois; Shah Murdan, Shin of Hodur; Kashbik, Yashkhun of Hodur.

[90a]

After a year had passed, the Chilasis and the Yaghistanis* assembled at Chilás with the intention of plundering Astor, whose Governors then were Jaie Khan and Wazir Gafkind, supporters of Kashmir and of the Shiah faith, and therefore fit objects for the attack of orthodox Mussulmans (Sunnis). We were in all about 50,000 Yaghistanis (the ideas of number are very vague in these countries,‡ though not so vague as in Laghmani where there is not a separate name for a number above 400, and the foreign appellation of hazár = 1,000 is the equivalent for 400. *Vide* Laghmani and Kunálá Vocabularies in which numeration is by twenties). The Astoris were only 6,000, but we went in large numbers, as we counted on having to meet the Dogras of Kashmir.

The following is the List of the confederate Yaghistanis:—From Koli, 1,000; Palus, 4,000; Jalkot, 3,000; Sazin, 500; Shatial, 500; Harban, 1,000; Takk, 1,000; Chilas, 3,000; Tor, 1,000; Tangir, 4,000; Darel, 10,000; Ghorban, 5,000 (probably Gor); Ges, 100; Hodur, 100; Gormani, 5,000 (probably auxiliaries from Gauhar-Aman, ruler of Yasin, popularly called Gormani); Gilgit, 3,000; Sai, 3,000.

(This only brings the allied Dard forces up to 48,000, perhaps only 15,000, as already explained. Since then the Dards have been more than decimated, and the destruction of Gilgit with all its traditions, etc., is one of the saddest results of the Kashmir frontier war. There are, however, Gilgit emigrants to be found in Yasin and other places.) We marched on to the mountains of Astor and Gashar-Astor with 4,000 men stopped at Jalkot (? as in French) in the Sai territory, I hear. He told us that when the Dogras came up to assist Astor, he would at once advance with more troops to that place. When we came near Astor, the Governor was informed of our approach. Most of the Astoris fled, many leaving their property behind. The 6,000 fighting men remained; they had, however, sent most of their property away. The people of the Astor village, Dashkin, had not heard of our arrival; so we surprised it about midnight, killed 2 men and wounded 5—100 were captured (men and women). We took the cattle, 500 goats, clothes to the value of 400 Rupees, 40 hatchets, 100 swords, and 100 matchlocks. Out of the house of the Wazir Gafkind we got 8 kettles. There are many Yashkhuns at Astor, three-fourths being of that race and the remainder being half Shins and the other half Kamins.† Our arrival at Astor was announced by a man whom with his companion we surprised seated at the bridge of Sugarkot. A man of Shatial killed the companion by throwing a stone at him; the other effected his escape and enabled the Astoris to get away with their property. The reason why we killed so few was because we wanted to make the people our slaves, either

173

---

* "Yaghistanis" = inhabitants of the "wild" or "independent" country.

† For Kamins and Yashkuns, see pages 62, 63.

‡ [cf the Dard area — Aurel ...]

to keep or sell; being Kafirs their lives are forfeited to the Musalmans, but it is harder on them to be slaves than die and therefore we prefer to enslave them. Besides it is more profitable. In the morning a rumour of the approach of the Maharajah's troops reached us. We were greatly surprised at this and retired on to Hudur Ghar (probably the *Hodur gâh*, a very high mountain which overlooks Bunji, on the Kashmir side of the Indus) by the Burdorkkit road—a very difficult one—on the way to Chilas, which we reached only the 6th day after our retreat. We then divided the spoil. Some sold their slaves in Chilas. Most took them to their homes. We did not lose any one in killed or wounded on this occasion. Jafar Khan of Astor then went to the Maharaja as a suppliant—saying he and his people were children and subjects of Kashmir and implored help against the marauders, who he urged, should themselves be attacked and punished. The Maharaja advised him to be quiet for a year, as he would then bring a large army. This was satisfactory for Jafar Khan, who was intent on revenge. In fact, 14 months later, when he and his ministers with 60 men again presented themselves at Srinagar, in order to urge the fulfilment of the promise, 30,000 men (!!?) were sent to Chilas. I was then at Minor in the Gilgit territory, but my father and brother were into the war and it is from them that I have heard the following particulars. When the Sikh General (whose name I forget) reached the Kashmir river [the Kishenganga (?)] he divided the Army into two parts—one to go by way of Gurais, the other by the Doran valley which goes straight to Chilas and actually reached Takk. [From Takk there are 2 valleys—the one of Bubusarr; the other of Niaroogh.] The reason of the division of the forces was that the Kashmir troops feared to trust their whole body into mountainous country where they might all be cut up. Two days before the enemy came, we were at Siltil, below Takk, 1,000 strong. The Yaghistanis were collecting at Chilas, but most were still on the roads or starting from their homes. The news of the approach of the Maharajah's troops had also frightened away most of the tribes. Indeed there were only 300 besides the force at Siltil. The following came: 100 from Sazin, 100 from Harban, 40 from Chitral, 60 from Darrail, 40 from Jalkot, 100 from Tangir, 100 from Thor, 40 from Shatial, 100 from Takk, 100 from Botogah. 800 had collected in Gor, but never came up, but were at Talpinn on the other side of the Indus, 4 kos from Chilas. The following Chiefs came: Nasar Khan, Kasim and Wazir Khan of Sazin. The 2 former were Shins, the other a Yashkun. Sapin, a Yashkun of Shatial; Dar Jihan, Kamin, of Shatial; Alamgir, Kamin, of Harban; Taja Khan, Kamin, of Harban; Jahdar Wazir and Shahbeg of Darrail, Shins; Amanl, Yashkun, Jalkot; Kattanu, Shin, Khairulla, Yashkun, Tangir; Wazir Shah Mamu, Adam Shah, Great Sirdars of Thor, Shins; Shahmard Kako and his brother of Shatial, Shins; Akbar and Azad, Kamins, of Takk; Kudlik of Botogah, Yashkuns; Sultan Khan, Yashkun, Gor; Wazir Khan, Yashkun, Gor; Surmeng, Yashkun, Gor; Bahram alias Khan, Nasir Ali, and Shahzad Shah, Yashkuns, Chilas.

173

567

175

When the Sikh troops came to the bridge of Siltil, it was 6 A.M. (fajr dawn). We were in ambush and rushed upon them sword in hand. There

566 they call a man "shisheh" and for "go there" say "gas yut" and "baishmula gitrri" (there is a mistake here) and for "bury" say "aimdish" and for "does he go or not" "yidd nitt." "Son" they call "Shaiman." 567 [Some of the ... are Kashmiri.] I remember these words, having once known the language as a woman of Khapul, called Miriam, had fallen to the lot of my brother in the division of the booty. A neighbour of mine also had a slave of the same place called Kalish, who used to come to see us. I was very young then and could converse with both. A year after, my brother, in consequence of his greed for money, took her to Kami, a village of Tangir and sold her to Sarrat Shah, Sirdar, the son of Bahar Shah, for 8 tolas of gold (each tolah of the value of 9 Rupees 5 annas). This was a good price as she was very good-looking, but she should not have been sold.

173 When the Kashmir troops attacked Chilas, Lassu joined us secretly and although himself old and feeble told us what to do—but his two brothers and two nephews openly fought on our side in the battle of the valley of Chilas. Indeed at Sibil, Lassu fought himself and used to send the Sirdars forward with his instructions. In short, as far as he was able, he tried to injure the Sikhs. When the Sikhs had cut the water off the fort, he had arranged about putting only one man in charge of it and fixed the rate at which it should be distributed. He was ever ready with advice. He used to allow the Sikhs to heap up supplies in villages and then would eat them up while encountered with them. This is how we managed to be fed (the plundered supplies reaching us by a mountain road) for three months. A relative of Lassu was in the Sikh Camp and told the General about Lassu's doings. The attention of the besiegers was then directed towards capturing him, but in vain, and in both ways he escaped being taken prisoner or receiving a wound. His younger brother was shot in the palm of the hand. In short, after the conquest of Chilas, Lassu again resided with his brothers at Niyatt and kept up his visits to Chilas. When the Sirdars arranged to offer their submission to the Maharaja at Jammu, they sent for Lassu and asked him to help them to recover their friends and relatives who had been taken prisoners to Kashmir. Lassu refused on the ground that he had left the Maharajah's service and had been his bitter enemy ever since and that therefore his life was not safe if he ventured into his presence. Finally, Lassu was prevailed upon to go. The following Sirdars went to Jammu to ask for forgiveness: Moslim Shah, Sattari, Buland Khan, and Daria Khan, of Chilas with 36 Bonis (poor people); Bayadad, Daru Khan, and Mir, Shins of Bodar; Asad and Sakhi, Shins of Takk; Tatari, Kamin, and Baghdin, Shin, also of Takk.

When the Maharaja saw the suppliants, and also noticed Lassu, it was as if an arrow had pierced him. He was greatly indignant, having heard everything from his General about Lassu often defeating his troops and being the origin of the wars and of the numerous plans by which his soldiers had been destroyed by thousands—for instance at the ambush at Sibil. Finally after a long talk, the Maharaja made the forgiveness of the Chilasis conditional on the execution of Lassu. The Chilasis said "By all means,

[T. Leitner - A.s.l.s.f.]

Biddulph C-1 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~[illegible]~~
AV3 Dard AV3

628 Blood feuds are not permitted to last for an indefinite period as amongst the Afghans, and after a time the parties are brought
674 together and made to swear peace on the Koran. The crime of murder is rare, and the readiness to spill blood on slight
623 occasions so noticeable among the Afghans is unknown. No public measure can be carried out except by general agreement, the details being left for the Jushteros to arrange.

178 The communities in the lower part of Shinkari, being more exposed to Afghan influence, and having been longer converted to Mahommedanism, have lost many of their characteristic customs; but the remoter valleys of Chilas, Gor, Darel, and in a lesser degree Tangir, are probably little changed from
834 what they were two hundred years ago. A very singular custom exists in these valleys, by which the sexes are kept strictly apart during the summer, from May till September. The custom is apparently very ancient, and any attempt to evade it is punished by fine; the old women of the family being specially charged with the responsibility of seeing that
165 the rule is observed. Great difficulty is said to be experienced in rearing children in Chilas. The great mortality among them is ascribed to the climate, but it is more probably due to too close intermarriage.

462 Agriculture is left entirely to the women, with the exception of ploughing, which demands more strength than they can afford. In summer the men spin wool and attend to their flocks on the mountain pastures; but in winter the duty of caring for the herds is relegated to the women.

567 Slavery is a recognised institution in all the Shinkari republics—a matter in which they contrast unfavourably with the Afghans and Neemchas of the Indus Valley, among whom it is unknown. Prisoners taken in war, and the children born of slave parents, form the servile class.

produce of any mines. His land is exempt from taxes, 634 and ten families are assigned to him as labourers. He also 651 receives a fee of one tilla, equal to 10 shillings, on each marriage. Next to the Atalik is the Charwêlo, who has charge of a group of villages. The country being much intersected by side valleys branching out of the main valley, the whole population of each of these is generally under one Charwêlo. He is directly responsible to the Atalik of his district, and has four families allotted to him for service. His "ishpin" is eight of each kind of produce. With a few exceptions the office is confined to the Ashimadek class.

Below the Charwêlo is the Baramoosh, or head of the 622 village. He is particularly charged with the maintenance of 651 roads, forts, and bridges, for which he receives a yearly "ishpin" of 10 sheep, 10 measures of butter, 10 measures of wheat, and a proportion of the produce of any mines with which he is connected. His land also is free from payment of taxes, and he has the right of releasing ten men of his village from military service. To assist him he has an attendant "Charboo," whose duties are the same as those of the Zeytoo in Gilgit. He receives a woollen robe and five sheep yearly, and his land is exempt from taxation.

In Yassin territory, both on the Chitral and Woorshigoom sides, the system and titles of officials are the same as in Chitral, showing, perhaps more strongly, the mixture of two systems.

About the person of the Mihter are five Wuzeers, who, with 645 the exception of the Chief Wuzeer, have no fixed functions. The Chief Wuzeer is also styled Diwanbegi, and is the Mihter's slave agent. The practice of selling their own subjects has 567 ● gained the rulers of Chitral and Yassin an unenviable notoriety, 651 even among people who have not yet learned to regard slavery with the detestation in which it is held in Europe. The beauty of the Chitral (Kho) women has long been proverbial in Peshawur, Cabul, and Badakhshan, and female slaves still form not the least acceptable portion of the presents given by Chitral rulers to neighbouring princes. Chitral, therefore, has always been a favourite resort for slave-dealers from neighbouring countries, and a system grew up under which the rulers of Kashkar came to regard the sale of their subjects as a legitimate and ordinary way of eking out a scanty revenue. All who in any way fell under the displeasure of the Mihter, were consigned to the Diwanbegi, and his agents were always on the look-out for victims whose conduct

[illegible] Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~[illegible]~~
4
AV3 Dard AV3
Chitral

651 might have furnished a pretext for their being sold. Failing
567 an excuse of this sort, the requisite number was made up by forcible seizure. Of late years the market for the disposal of slaves has become circumscribed, and in Chitral the system is now limited to little more than the selling or giving away of female children to supply the harems of Cabul, Badakhshan, and Yaghestan. In Chitral the Ashimadek class can hold slaves without special permission, but none of the "Fakir Mushkin" are allowed to do so.

804 The weights and measures in use are—

Dry measure.

4 cheiraks = 1 batti.
8 battis = 1 man.
3 mans = 1 bel.

A cheirak equals about 1¼ lb. English.

Long measure.

A span = 1 disht.
2 dishts = 1 host.
2 hosts = 1 gaz.

Land measure.

8 choorums = 1 chakwarum.
4 chakwarums = 1 takt.

A choorum is the extent of land which it takes three battis, or about 15 lbs., of wheat to sow. The money in use is the Cabul coinage.

A•3 Dard A•3
Gurrasin a•?

by the Governor of Cashmere. They were at first repulsed, but advancing a second time they defeated Gohr Aman and installed Karim Khan as Ra of Gilgit under their protection in September 1842. Six years later Karim Khan was slain, together with the Sikh Governor, while invading Hunza. Eleven years later again his son Mohammed Khan dying childless, the nominal, as well as the actual, ownership of Gilgit devolved on the Dogras, who had succeeded the Sikhs in Cashmere. Not wishing to leave Gilgit without a nominal Ra, the Cashmere Government summoned from Nagar the present Ra, Alidad Khan, the infant son of the Nagar ruler, who, through his mother, was still held to represent the Trakhané line, and installed him when only one year old. A son of Asghar Ali is still living in Cashmere, but, being born of a slave mother, he was held incapable of succeeding. D #73 B #73

Mr. Drew has given a succinct account of the events which led to the consolidation of the Hindoo power on the right bank of the Indus. Whatever the faults and shortcomings of Cashmere rule may be when judged by a European standard, it has undoubtedly conferred on this part of the country an amount of prosperity and security which could not have been attained under the Khushwakté family, in whose grasp it would otherwise have remained. Freedom from the liability to be sold as slaves alone outweighs the disadvantage of being ruled by men of a different faith. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, of the inhabitants of Gilgit over 40 years of age, nearly half have passed some portion of their lives in slavery. There is not a family of which one or more of their members have not been lost in this way. The stories of their wanderings told by many are full of interest, and many curious scenes occur on occasions of their return. On one occasion a young man arrived, who had been carried off when a child in arms. From his companions in slavery he had learned his name and that of his father, who received him with open arms; but, having been all the time at Seo, where the Shina language is not spoken, he could not converse with his father for several weeks except through an interpreter. On another occasion a "claimant" appeared from Badakhshan, avowing himself to be the brother of the Wuzeer, whose mother and brother had been sold into slavery thirty years before. His coming being notified beforehand, the fatted calf was killed, and great preparations made to receive him by his aged mother, who had herself been redeemed from slavery only two years before D 567

567 Throwing herself on his neck she welcomed back the wanderer, but then being struck with suspicion, she looked steadily at him for a moment, pushed the hair off his temples to look for a scar remembered only by herself, and declared that he was not her son. The man protested vehemently that he was, till at last, overcome with confusion by the woman's positive manner, he confessed that he was not the man he pretended to represent, but his foster-brother. The two had lived as slaves under the same master till the death of the Wuzeer's son had suggested the possibility of the imposture on his regaining his freedom.

The following story, given me by one who was better able than most to give a connected account of his adventures, is a fair sample of the history of hundreds:—

THE STORY OF ZEBA KHAN.

159
561 "I was born at Minawar, near Gilgit. My father died when I was a boy, and Suleiman Shah killed my grandfather in Cher. When I was about sixteen years old, Suleiman Shah sent me with a hundred others of my family and village to Yassin as slaves. At the end of three years I escaped back to Gilgit. Azad Khan was then ruling there. After a time Azad Khan was killed by Tahir Shah of Nagyr, who ruled in Gilgit about three years and then died. He was succeeded by his son Sekunder, who ruled for about six years. When Gohr Aman invaded the country, Sekunder came from Bagrot to meet him, and a fight took place at Gilgit, on the left bank of the river, in which Sekunder was killed. At the end of a year Gohr Aman returned to Yassin, taking with him 500 Gilgitis, among whom were my brother and myself, and gave us both to Ibrahim Khan, the son of his cousin Kowat Khan, who took us to Yarkhoon. At the end of four months we two and another Gilgiti escaped by night. We reached the top of the mountain of Kot, on which was much snow, by morning. We descended into the valley of Toorikho, near three small villages. The people of Toorikho cultivate the hill-side in the same manner as is done in the Sai Valley (*i.e.*, in terraces rising above the road on both sides). Between Mastooch and Toorikho is a pass; the distance is three ordinary days' journey. To the west of Mastooch are Sonoghur, Awi, and Booni. Beyond Booni is Roshan. I once went as far as this before I escaped, but on this occasion I did not get beyond Shogram, where I was seized by the people of Aman-ool-Mulk who happened to be there at the time. By his order I was taken to Wakhan and given to Meer Futteh Ali Shah. In three days we arrived at Sarhad-i-Wakhan. Between Toorikho and Sarhad is a pass which has snow on it in summer, and part of it is difficult to travel over. At Punja I was sold by Futteh Ali Shah, in exchange for merchandise, to a merchant of Zebak, named Erbabab, who took me to Yarkund by way of Sirikol. We went in six days from Wakhan to Sirikol with a caravan of merchants. From Sirikol we went to Yarkund by the Koosherab road. As far as Koosherab the people are

[illegible]

A+3 Dard A+3.

Moghl (i.e., Gilkolis). From Kumbarah we arrived at Yarkand in six easy marches. In Yarkand Ghalab sold me to a widow for one yambu and ten tangas in copper (about £17). This woman, who kept a shop, employed me for a year in carrying wood and water, and then sold me for the same money to Mir Rahim Bai, an Andijani merchant. This Mir Rahim Bai was the owner of much land, on which he employed fifteen slaves. Five other slaves were employed in his house. My business was to ride in attendance on him when he went out. At that time the Chinese ruled the country. Though they were not Mussulmans, except a few who were called Tungan (Tunganis), the call to prayers was not forbidden, and the precepts of the Shariat were observed. No duties were levied, and if a man went on pilgrimage, assistance was given him. A youth at that time, in Yarkand, would fetch as a slave two yambus, and a young man about the price I was sold for. A handsome young woman would sell for three yambus (about £50). At the end of two years, with nine other slaves I escaped from Yarkand, trying to reach Gilgit by way of Cogiar. We had a supply of baked bread with us, and only travelled by night, avoiding all habitations. We reached Cogiar after fifteen days, and had nearly arrived at the top of the range, when a fall of snow obliged us to halt in a valley. Here fifteen men on horseback overtook us, and as we had only one sword among us, we could not beat them off. I killed one man with the sword, and taking his gun shot another; one of our number also was killed, and the rest of us taken back to Yarkand. The journey back only took five days, and had we known the road at first, we should not have been taken. On our return we were taken before the Chinese Governor, who, however, did not punish us, but gave us back to our former masters. Mir Rahim Bai imprisoned me for one month, with a plank of wood fixed over my neck, and then made me work with chains on for a year, when he sold me to another Andijani merchant named Mahommed Yusuf Bai, for the same price he had given for me. My employment with Mahommed Yusuf Bai was to carry his loads of merchandise. At the end of two years I again escaped with four men and two women. In twelve days' travelling by night we reached Cogiar, and in six days more Ushdumlik, where we found some Kirghiz. From this we travelled by night for two days towards Mustagh and Shigar with a kafila of Baltis, when we were attacked in a camping place by a band of Kunjootis, who took us and also ten Baltis, and plundered the caravan; the rest of the Baltis escaped back to Yarkand. In four days we were taken to Shimshal, which is in the Hunza country. The road was difficult and mountainous. Horses cannot travel by it. There are two mountains covered with snow to be crossed, and it is uninhabited. The distance is about the same as from Gilgit to Astor. Shimshal is a small place with about forty houses; the village is on a plateau 300 feet above the river. From Shimshal to Moorkoon is two marches; the road is only fit for men on foot, but there is no snow in summer, and only a little in winter. There are ten houses and a small fort at Moorkoon. Between Moorkoon and Girtchah two small but steep mountains have to be crossed. The road is closed by snow for two months. At Girtchah is a small fort with twelve houses. Beyond Girtchah is Sooster. At Sooster I was imprisoned for a year, and then was sold for two horses to Mahommed Alim Khan, brother of the Meer Futteh Ali Shah of Wakhan. At

159

567

[illegible]

4 Acc3 Dacc Acc3

159 567 that time Ghazanfar Khan was ruler of Hunza. From Sussun people go to Pussoo, from Pussoo to Goolmit, and thence to Hunza on the third day. I did not see the road, but was told it was mountainous and covered with snow. From Sussun I was taken to Chupursun, which contains twelve houses; the distance is about 12 miles. From Chupursun I was taken to Babagoondi, where there is a ziarat, but no habitations. The road is difficult, and there is much snow in winter. Horses travel the road with difficulty. From Babagoondi, crossing the mountain, we reached Sarhad in Wakhan; the distance is as that from Gilgit to Sai. When I arrived at Panja, Futteh Ali Shah did not recognise me. Many merchants came, but none bought me. At last Futteh Ali Shah recognised me. I said to him, 'Oh Zaman, men do but kill a sheep once; you kill me twice.' I related to him the history of my being sold by him to Kilabah, and what had happened since. He said, 'This time I have nothing to do with you, you are in the hands of my brother Mahommed Afzul Khan.' After some time Mahommed Afzul Khan sold me to Sekunder Shah, the Wuzeer of the Hakim of *Zeba*. At that time Mir Shah was ruler of Badakhshan. I remained in *Zeba* one winter, then I was sold to Nasrullah Bai of Sabidah, about 10 miles from *Zeba*. There are about thirty houses in Sabidah, and the people are Soonnees, as at *Zeba*. At New *Zeba*, close to *Zeba*, they are Shiah Syuds. After two years I escaped from Sabidah, and wandered in the mountains for three days, but could find no road, so returned to near *Zeba*, where I lay hid for three days in the house of a man who was friendly to me. On the fourth day he showed me the way to escape, and I arrived at *Zebak* in four stages, travelling only by night. On the way I crossed a high mountain, and avoiding *Zebak* in three stages more I reached Injigan, where there is a small fort. There ten men seized me and wanted to send me back to Badakhshan, but they could not agree among themselves. I told them that I was a servant of *Adam* Khor, who had lately visited Badakhshan, and that when he had left I was ill and could not travel with him. They believed me and showed me the road over the bridge opposite the fort. From there I travelled eastward up a valley, but found much snow and no way out, so turning back I followed a valley to the right, and at midday reached a great lake. From the lake I reached the top of a steep mountain. In winter nobody travels this road, but in summer very rarely and on urgent occasions men travel by it. Horses cannot use it. From the top of the mountain two roads go—one on the right, very narrow and bad, goes into the country of the Bushgali Kaffirs, the other, by the Lutkho Valley, leads to Chitral. I travelled by this road to Shoghoor. From Lutkho to Shoghoor is one long day's journey. Here I found a small fort belonging to Adam Khor, and no one lived here except his family. From Shoghoor I arrived at Chitral in two days. I stayed there three months, and when Adam Khor, having made war against his father Shah Afzul, was defeated and fled to Dir, I accompanied him. At that time Ghazan Khan was the ruler of Dir. I remained there two months and then went to Swat, by the country of the Sultan Khel. I reached Saidoo, where the Akhoond lives, and stayed there three days, after which I went by Murdan to Peshawur. Thence I travelled through Hazara and Mozufferabad to Cashmere, where I lived for a year, and then at last was able to return to Gilgit."

[illegible]

The story of Sher Khan is a fair example of the history of scores of men and women in the Gilgit district. I have not chosen it for any special points, but Sher Khan, being a man of intelligence, is able to give a more connected narrative than most of the others I have spoken to. I have written down his tale exactly as he related it. In spite of some mistakes, his recollection of the places he visited in his wanderings is excellent.

and the pine-forest is less extensive, while juniper has become rare. Birch is found nearly up to 12,000 feet, and *Pinus excelsa* at 11,500. Some of the hill-sides have great stretches of birch-wood, which, as I saw them in autumn, made a glorious blaze of yellow, from the valley-bottom far up the mountain, enveloping detached woods of dark pine.

Coming down the valley we reach traces of cultivation at the level of 10,000 feet. First are detached hamlets and small villages, bare, with no trees round them. Then, at Rattu, are some apricot trees; at the next place are some small walnuts; while at Chugam, which is 8300 feet, are many fine walnut trees, and from there onwards the villages are mostly well shaded by fruit-trees.

But in that upper part it is chiefly traces of former cultivation that one sees; they are enough to show that crops will grow and ripen; but the fields are waste, the hamlets deserted. In most of the mountain-tracts we have hitherto gone over the population has increased nearly up to the limit of land available; but here is room for hundreds of settlers. This state of things was brought about by the raids of the people of Chilas. The Chilasis are a Dard race inhabiting a long valley on the west of Diyamir or Nanga Parbat. Until about 1850 they used to make occasional expeditions for plunder into this Astor Valley. Often they came over the Mazeno Pass to reach these higher parts, while for Astor itself, which they also attacked, they came round by the Hatu Pass and Dashkin. The plunder they came for was cattle and people to make slaves of; their captives they do not sell, but they keep them for their own service, making use of them to take their flocks and herds to pasture. But since it would be almost impossible to keep grown men as their slaves at such work, where opportunities for escape would be plentiful, they used to kill the men and carry away only the women and the young people.

It was these raids that determined Maharaja Gulab Singh to send a punitive expedition against Chilas; this he did in 1851 or 1852, I am not sure which; one force went direct from Kashmir, and one advanced by this Mazeno Pass. The Dogras were in great straits for provisions, as the communications were

*[i.e. Astor Valley -- Analyst]

Dard Afs
Britisha Af?

CHAPTER XX.

DARDISTAN: COUNTRIES AROUND GILGIT.

644 FRAGMENTS of information got from hearsay of countries that are inaccessible to one, when they can be verified by comparison, are
563 not without value. I will therefore put down a few notes, which,
564 as far as they go, are likely to be correct, on those parts of Dard-
587 istan which cannot at present be reached by Europeans.

795 But first I will show, in a tabular form, the several divisions of Dardistan which have in any way come within my notice, in-
8 cluding those which have already been treated of. These divi-
692 sions are in some cases separate valleys, in other cases parts of the
564 same valley. The Table includes a statement of their form of
567 government, of the races or castes that inhabit them, and of the
796 sect or religion prevailing, as well as the practice that may hold as regards slavery.

DARDISTAN.

	Government.	Prevailing Races or Castes.	Religion.	Condition as regards Slavery.
Gilgit	Governed directly by the Maharaja's officers.	A few Rons; more Shin; most Yashkun.	Half Shiah, half Sûnî.	In these countries is there now, nor was there of old, either slavery or slave-trade.
Sai		Shin and Yashkun	Mostly Sûnî; a few Shiah.	
Harámosh		Shin and Yashkun	Shiah.	
Bagrot		Shin and Yashkun	Sûnî.	
Punyál	Ruled by Raja 'Isa Bahadur, in dependence on the Maharaja. (Raja's caste or family is called Burshe.)	Yashkun	Maulai and a few Sûnî.	
Yasin	Ruled by Raja [illegible]. (Raja's family, [illegible].)	Yashkun	All Shin.	

La Drew G-4 (1860-1875) 1875 AT1 [illegible]
Dard AT3
Burusho AT3

Dárdistán—continued.

	Government	Prevailing Race or Caste	Religion	Condition as regards Slavery
Hunza	Ruled by Raja Ghazan Khán, son of Ghazanfar. (Raja's family, Ayeshe.)	Yashkun	All Maulai.	Here slaves are both kept and dealt in.
[illegible] or [illegible]	Belongs to [illegible]	Yashkun	Maulai.	
Yásín	Ruled by Raja Mír Walí, son of Gauhar Rahmán. (Raja's family, Khushwakt.)	Yashkun	Maulai and Sunni, the former predominating, as [illegible].	
Chitrál and Mastúj	Ruled by Raja Amán-ul-Mulk. (Raja's family, Katoré.)	Yashkun	Sunni.	
[illegible] to Badakhshán	Dependent on the Mír or Prince of Badakhshán (tributary to Kábul).	Wakhi *	Maulai.	
Dárel	Republic	Shin and Yashkun	Sunni.	In these, captives of war are kept as slaves, slave-dealing is not practised.
Tangír	Republic	Shin and Yashkun		
Gor	Republic	Shin and Yashkun	Sunni.	
[illegible]	Republic			
Chilás	Republic	Shin and Yashkun		
Sazín	Republic	Shin and Yashkun		
[illegible]	Republic	Shin and Yashkun		

D
131
642
563
564
567 ●
795

E
642
564
567
795

The first five divisions I have already treated of as fully as I was able. We now come to the countries that surround Gilgit.

E
1?1
131
64?

Nagar lies along the left bank of the Hunza-Nagar River, having Hunza opposite on the right bank. Since about 1867 it has paid a small tribute to the Mahárája, receiving in return a present of larger value; this cannot be considered more than a compliment, and a mark of desire for friendly relations.

The people of Nagar are called Khajuná.

E
648

Hunza is a more warlike country than Nagar. As shown in the last chapter, it has often been actively at enmity with the Mahárája, and it has generally been in a state of unfriendliness to him. In 1870 the Hunza Rája sent an agent to Srínagar to open friendly relations, who was well received; I do not know

---

* I have never met any of these people, but I believe them to be Tájiks. [illegible] is another name by which they are called; that is the territorial name, while Wakhi is the caste name.

In Drew G-3 (1802-1879) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

each is free to pursue its own without severing the federal bond. Thus I have heard that some villages have joined with one power—have agreed to pay tribute—while others of the same valley have done the same to the rival power. But there must be some limit to this. They could not, of course, actively join on opposite sides. D 623

My knowledge of the working of these institutions is very incomplete; on the whole I incline to think that with the republics there is less of wars of ambition than with those valleys that are governed by an hereditary ruler, less of bloodshed on a large scale, such as is brought about by or for the dispossession of dynasties. But I do not think that the internal state is so secure and quiet as under a Raja; in the republics personal independence and liberty of action are so much the rule, that no one interferes to prevent even violence. D 642 626

In the Table given at p. 430, the last column shows the custom of the various states with respect to slavery. There are three categories. The first includes Gilgit, Astor, Nagar, &c.; in these places not only is slavery unknown now that some of them are under the rule of the Maharaja of Kashmir, but, according to my information, it was not the custom before. D 567●

Another category includes the Republics; in these, slaves when captured in a foray are kept as servants, as we saw was the case in Chilás with those they brought away from Astor; but they are not used as a commodity to be bought and sold.

Thirdly, in the Rajaships of Hunza, Yásin, and Chitrál, slaves are openly bought and sold; the Rajas themselves are the *chief* dealers—that is to say, they are sellers—while merchants, generally from Badakhshán, are the buyers. The greater expense of sustaining these governments, as compared with the republics, has probably been the cause of the Rajas entering on this trade, in which they will sell, in default of *others*, their own subjects even. Many are the people, and of races various—Dárd and Dográ, Panjábí and Pathán—whom the fortune of war has allowed to fall into the hands of one or other of these rulers, and who, having been bartered by their avaricious captor, are passing their lives as exiles and slaves in Badakhshán or in Turkistán. B 567

4. Durand G-4 (1888-93) 1900 AV) [illegible]
Dard Avj
Chitral

rather embarrassed us by asking, after a pause in 159
the conversation, during which he had been fixedly
staring at Robertson, whether the latter was a really
good doctor. You had to be prepared to receive
any question or statement with an impassive face,
a feat at first a little difficult, for Chitrali views
of life were quaint.

Nizam mentioned casually that he had sold forty 517
of his people into slavery this year, and explained 691
that he had selected them from houses in which 652
there were several men, so that it would make no
difference in cultivating the land, an arrangement
which he seemed to think showed a good deal of
consideration. Afzul, when discussing the slavery
question later with me, pointed out that in India
we could afford to keep up jails, but that in a
poor country like Chitral this was impossible, and
that selling into slavery answered to our penal
servitude; it was the only way of punishing a man
who was too much of a scoundrel to be allowed at
large. If selling into slavery had been ruled by
these conditions, there might not have been so much
to say against it in a country in the condition of
Chitral, but this was not the case. The Mehtar and
his sons looked upon selling men into slavery as a
natural source of revenue, and they took every
opportunity they could of making money in this
way. The market value of an able-bodied man 517
was about a hundred rupees, a good-looking young 652
woman ran up to two hundred or two hundred and
fifty; a boy or a girl was usually worth a horse, and
could be got for from forty to eighty-five rupees,
an old man was worth a good sporting dog or a

[illegible] G-5 [illegible] AV1 [illegible]
Dard A&3
Chitral

567 donkey, but I never heard the value of an old
652 woman quoted. I lived in perpetual terror of
being presented with a slave, and was prevented by
this and other obvious considerations—one being that
I did not want spies in my household—from attempting to start Chitrali servants, which was a loss when
later I wanted to learn something of the language.

661 Throughout Chitral on this occasion I was not
661 allowed to pay for any supplies. As my camp was
very small this was no great tax, and I tried to
make up for it by giving presents. I found that
the ruler and his guests were always supplied with
food and firewood, and that this levy really took
the place of part of the land tax, and that in some
places it was the sole cess on land. In theory, it
is a perfectly natural and harmless tax in a wild
country like Chitral, but in practice it is bad, as
the strong man in a village does not produce his
own milk or sheep when the king's camp comes
along and has to be fed, but takes those of his poorer
neighbour, and presents them, with protestations of
661 joy and loyalty. When I visited Chitral again, or
officers under my orders did so in after years, it
was always the rule that all supplies and carriage
should be paid for by a British officer in person.
In the case of coolies this ensured the right man
getting the money, but with supplies one was never
certain of paying the rightful owner, and, in any case,
the strong man armed took his share. That we
could not help, you cannot alter the immemorial
East; all that we could do was to make it evident
to the people that we wanted to pay honestly for
whatever we took, and that we were not on the

[illegible]

Dard Afg
Chitral

643 The Mehtar ruled his country with a rod of iron
651 and none dared gainsay his commands. But his
647 rule was not popular—far from it. His oppression
659 extended in all directions; he sold large quantities of timber yearly to Peshawari merchants, and the whole of it was cut and conveyed to the streams by forced labour—of course unpaid for; he interfered in trade, and levied prohibitive taxes on merchandise passing through his country; he bought the goods of passing merchants, if he wanted them, at his own valuation; he sold his subjects into slavery, and sent presents of slave boys and girls to the Amir
659 and to neighbouring chiefs. At the same time he
[508] had many good points. He was deeply religious according to his lights, yet he was no bigot. His view was that so long as a man was a good subject the ruler had no call to interfere with his religious opinions, and while I was in Chitral he soundly rated his son Murid for trying to enforce orthodoxy among his people. He was a kind and indulgent father, and devoted to his small sons, who used to form a pretty group round him when he came to see me, clustering about him with the fearlessness of affection. In a country where unnatural vices were rampant he was unstained. He had a religious horror of them, and attributed his success over the Kushwakt chiefs to their depravity, against which
[515] God's wrath had kindled. He was much married, not "cursedly confined" to one wife, or for the matter of that, to some dozens of wives and concubines. Like David, he "scattered his Maker's image through the land," and at every village you found a small son or heard of a daughter. He had eighty children.

[illegible]

000 We tried to find our fairy-visiting friend in one of the Owir hamlets, but failed, I forget why.

556 Next day we crossed into another valley, and
● 567 halted for breakfast at a place called Barun, the residence of a headman whose ancestors had been kings of this collection of valleys. He was a rich man, the possessor of over three hundred slaves.

133 All the four valleys of the Owir district are of the same type, and are remarkable for the outcrop of saltpetre, which reduces the soil available for cultivation. The Owir stream is formed by the junction of the waters from the four valleys, and runs out finally into the Chitral river, through the narrow gorge described above, up which no man can force his way. The march beyond Barun was terribly severe, in and out of a succession of steep ravines hundreds of feet deep, the last ascent of a thousand feet, up which our horses barely carried us, landing us on the watershed between the Owir and the Mastuj valley. The view back was indescribably grand, we were told: unfortunately for us, Tirich Mir veiled his face. Still it was very fine, a grand circle of snow-clad mountains fencing the valley, which is broken by the four main streams into a series of long promontories, the upper and flatter part of the amphitheatre one mass of cultivation and autumn colouring. After descending a few hundred feet the road turned north, and the view was again lovely; at one's feet the great gently sloping circle of the Lun valley cultivation, and in the distance the Mastuj, Turikho, and Murikho valleys.

The Lun valley is a replica of the Owir; Turikho

000 baggage, guard, etc., by single marches to Gilgit, and prepared to move myself in either direction, as the fates might decide. I paid the usual ceremonious visits to the Mehtar at the fort, took my guard with me, had them put through their drill for the Mehtar's amusement, and made them fire volleys at a mark. Their firing impressed the local people very much; they were not accustomed to the Martini. The
517 Mehtar[1] offered to present me with a little Kafir girl "habited proper," but I declined the embarrassing offering.

000 All the time I was in Chitral I was waiting for the promised instructions as to my dealings with Umra Khan. They never came, my brother's illness having caused the question to be hung up, but I expected them every post, and awaited their arrival eagerly. I spent my time seeing all the leading men, amongst others whom I interviewed with much interest being Humayun, the refugee Wazir from Hunza. He gave me a good deal of information about Hunza, mostly erroneous, and calculated to show that he, and not his brother Dadu, was the man to make friends with. But much that he said was of value, and I knew enough of the effect of exile to sift the false from the true. He had a very strong party on his side, that I knew, but I could not fall in with his suggestion that he should compass the murder of the Thum. This man was, I think, after the Mehtar, by far the cleverest native gentleman I met in the Hindu-Kush. In some ways I think he was superior to the Mehtar; he seemed to take a more extended view of questions affecting the welfare of the frontier states. He belonged to a younger generation, and

[1] [i.e. of Chitral -- Analyst]

000 the latter was on his best behaviour, and was making all necessary preparations to speed him through his territory. This was so far satisfactory that it showed that the Thum for the present meant to abide by his engagements.

And so we passed out of Chitral territory, and left "the land of mirth and murder," as we named it in opposition to "the land of gold and apricots." I was not to see its capital again until my old friends had all gone. The Mehtar was the only one to die in peace and the fulness of years; six of his sons lie in bloody shrouds.

567 At Gakuch, Syed Shah, the Scripture reader from Peshawar Mission, met me, too late to accompany Robertson into Kafiristan. As it turned out this was probably for the best. He gave a harrowing description of the slave trade in Chitral, and told how women were torn from their husbands and children to be given to other men, families broken up, the boys and girls sent as presents to Kabul, and the rest sold to go to Yarkhand, small children exchanged for sporting dogs, and boys for horses. The slave trade was one of the things I most wished to see put an end to in this beautiful country, but it was not a question to be approached easily. In the end I am glad to think we had our way, but if we left the country to itself to-morrow the trade would flourish again.

000 Four days' halt at Gakuch rested the camp, and, knowing that accumulations of work were piling up for me at Gilgit, I pushed on, and regained the shelter of my house by the middle of November, well pleased with the results of my long tour. We